

THE EFFECT OF RESUME WHITENING ON AFRICAN AMERICANS INGROUP
MEMBERS' PERCEIVED LIKABILITY, HIREABILITY, FUTURE ENCOUNTERS,
AND EMOTIONAL REACTIONS: THE ROLE OF PERCEIVED RACIAL IDENTITY

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DEDICATION

For Andrew Rader. Thank you so much for constantly reminding me of what matters most in life.

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Members of stigmatized racial groups who realize that they might face employment discrimination may engage in résumé whitening, whereby they downplay the role of their group identity in their résumés. Although it has been documented that this approach helps members of stigmatized groups, such as Black American and Asian American individuals, move forward in their pursuit of employment (Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016), little is known about how their ingroup members would perceive this behavior. The current study explores the potential backlash coming from their own ingroup members when Black targets engage in résumé whitening.

Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, PhD, Chair

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Employment discrimination is a serious issue in the United States. Although Title VII of the Civil Rights Act forbids employers from discriminating against potential job applicants on the basis of their color, race, national origin, religion, and sex (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2009), some people are nevertheless being denied opportunities due to their social identities. Avery, McKay, and Wilson (2008) investigated the prevalence of perceived racial discrimination in the workplace and found that Black and Hispanic employees reported significantly higher perceived racial/ethnic discrimination compared to their White counterparts. A large body of evidence that covers laboratory experiments, field experiments, and résumé audit studies show a converging trend of the persistence of stereotypes and discrimination in organizations (Leslie, King, Bradley, & Hebl, 2008). More recently, in their meta-analysis of field experiments, Quillian, Pager, Hexel, and Midtboen (2017) show that the trend of hiring African Americans and Latinos has not changed since 1989. According to their analyses of 55,842 applications, White applicants tend to receive 36% more callbacks on average than Black applicants, and 24% more callbacks than Latinos. Acknowledging that Blacks are at a disadvantaged position when it comes to getting employed, the current study focuses its scope on this specific population.

1.1. How do Members of Stigmatized Groups Deflect Discrimination?

Members of stigmatized groups understand the potential of being discriminated against and they sometimes adopt strategies to deflect or to reduce the adverse impact of discrimination. For instance, in his book *Whistling Vivaldi*, Claude Steele (2011) recounts the experience of an African American New York Times writer, Brent Staples, who—

after fear and avoidance from Whites he passed on the street—whistled Vivaldi while walking on the streets of Hyde Park. He did this to signal to White people that he is well-educated and non-threatening, thereby taking a preemptive stance against potential discrimination. Research by Singletary and Hebl (2009) also suggests that there are certain individual-level compensatory strategies that members of stigmatized groups can do to reduce interpersonal discrimination during the job interview process. The researchers provide evidence demonstrating that acknowledging one's stigmatized identity, finding ways to individuate from being the representatives of their stigmatized group, and engaging in friendly behaviors that increase positivity are particularly helpful for members of stigmatized groups.

Moreover, research by Shelton, Richeson, and Salvatore (2005) confirms that ethnic minorities who were primed to expect racial prejudice showed an increased use of compensatory strategies than ethnic minorities who were primed with prejudice toward the elderly (a control group). In this study, after reading an article containing claims about the prevalence of prejudice and discrimination directed toward members of ethnic minority groups (vs. elderly people), these ethnic minority participants were asked to engage in interethnic interactions with White participants for about ten minutes. Shelton et al. (2005) measured various aspects of the interactions from both ethnic minority and White participants' perspectives, which included liking, negative affective responses, authenticity, and engagement. Interestingly, even though ethnic minority participants who were primed with racial prejudice (vs. elderly people) reported more negative experiences in those interactions, their White counterparts reported having had more positive experiences. An argument can be made that this occurred because ethnic minority

participants had to work harder to dispel some negative expectations that their partners may hold about their stigmatized ingroup (Hilton & Darley, 1985; Miller & Myers, 1998). This study shows that members of the ethnic minority groups demonstrate an increase in engagement (i.e., a form of compensatory strategy) to minimize negative treatment when involved in interethnic interactions where prejudicial attitudes are expected even when they are not aware of them.

Additionally, Roberts, Cha, and Kim (2014) surveyed strategies used by Asian American journalists to manage the impressions formed about their negatively stereotyped racial identity. These strategies included taking advantage of affiliation with the dominant group (e.g., White coworkers), avoidance of coworkers who may potentially trigger the racial identity questions, and racial humor that functions to reduce negative meanings of one's identity. Alternatively, some Asian American journalists engaged in identity enhancement; that is, creating more positive social meanings pertaining to their racial identity through education, advocacy work, and selective confirmation of stereotypes. Not only is enhancement regularly utilized, these journalists also affiliate themselves with coworkers from different races and ethnicities by emphasizing commonalities amongst themselves.

A recent study by Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, and Jun (2016) taps into an important strategy that members of stigmatized groups sometimes use to increase their likelihood of getting callbacks from employment opportunities: résumé whitening. Résumé whitening is a process in which job applicants conceal or downplay their racial identity in order to get ahead in the labor market. In their interviews with 59 members of stigmatized groups, Kang et al. (2016) show evidence that in order to avoid being discriminated against

during the application process, members of stigmatized groups might take preemptive action by presenting themselves differently, especially in regard to their racial identity. These strategies include, but are not limited to, changing or altering one's name, omitting or changing the description of professional experience that offers clues to one's racial identity, and adding stereotypically "White" experience (Kang et al., 2016). In terms of changing one's name, of all the respondents who reported their engagement in résumé whitening, nearly one-half of the respondents, primarily Asian and Asian American respondents, claimed that they altered their names to a more American-sounding name (e.g., Alex, John) as a response to the recommendations made by their mentors, advisors, coaches, and fellow friends. Other participants in the study claimed that they removed a majority of affiliations they had with Black or Asian American organizations in order to tone down any racial signals before applying to different jobs, especially if those organizations support identity politics, race relations, or other racial causes. It would appear that whitening one's résumé bears a promising outcome: in their résumé audit study, Kang et al. (2016; Study 3) found that whitened résumés received significantly more callbacks for employment interviews than non-whitened résumés, both for Black and Asian American applicants.

Indeed, such behavior is rewarded by high-status group members. A line of research by Zhao and Biernat (2017) suggests that, in academia, members of the high-status group (e.g., White professors) are more likely to respond to a Chinese student with an Anglo-name (vs. Chinese name) for graduate training. The presence of Anglo names (e.g., Alex vs. Xian) changes the treatment and evaluations received by Chinese targets. This phenomenon is moderated by assimilationist and multicultural ideologies, such that

only White people who are higher on the assimilationist and lower on the multicultural ideologies most strongly prefer Chinese targets with Anglo names. The pattern of treatment and evaluations received by a Chinese student was reversed with White people who are lower on assimilationist and higher on the multicultural ideologies such that these White people preferred students with Chinese-sounding names. According to a résumé audit study conducted by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) in Boston and Chicago, racially stereotypic names such as Jamal and Lakisha (vs. Emily and Greg) received 50 percent fewer callbacks. In other words, applicants with stereotypically Black names have to send out an average of 15 applications to receive one callback, while applicants with stereotypically White names have to send out an average of only 10 applications for one callback. Furthermore, King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, and Mendoza (2006), in their analyses demonstrated that while White and Hispanic job applicants benefited from highly qualified résumés, Black applicants with stereotypically Black names were evaluated as less suitable for high-status occupations even when they had strong credentials.

1.2. Perceived Likeability of Deviant Ingroup Members

In their paper, Kang et al. (2016) reported diverging opinions in regard to the acceptability of résumé whitening: some respondents believed that moving forward in their career was important while others believed that maintaining one's human capital value by remaining true to oneself was far more important. As such, the magnitude of the effect of résumé whitening on people's attitudes is still unclear. Although it may be advantageous in terms of employment for Blacks (and other racial minorities) to downplay the role of their racial identity by altering their résumés (Kang et al., 2016),

potential negative repercussions from ingroup members have not been investigated. Social identity and self-categorization theories posit that individuals with stigmatized identities are more likely to embrace their group identity as a means of enhancing solidarity among their group members. This solidarity helps buffer against psychological stressors that are coming from dominant outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Turner, & Smith, 1984). For example, a study conducted by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) showed that identification with one's own stigmatized group could help alleviate the negative consequences of being perceived as victims of racial prejudice. Similarly, Ashburn-Nardo, Monteith, Arthur, and Bain (2007) found that greater racial identity centrality buffered African Americans from perceived ingroup-directed prejudice. Particularly, among those Blacks who were high in racial identity centrality, the relationship between perceived prejudice and psychological well-being was non-significant. Taking all these findings together, a strong argument can be made that it is more normative and prototypical for Blacks to align themselves closely with their ingroup to maintain the connection with fellow ingroup members and reap the group's protective benefits.

This calls into question the acceptability of engaging in strategies that downplay or conceal ingroup identity, given its protective functions and typicality among stigmatized groups. Marques and Paez (1994) coined an important term that focused on the interactional processes that take place within one's group, a phenomenon called the *black sheep effect*. The desire to maintain a positive social group image leads individuals to upgrade likeable (normative) ingroup members and derogate unlikeable (non-normative or deviant) ingroup members compared to their outgroup counterparts. Black

sheep effect research maintains that there is a perceptual interchangeability between the self and the ingroup prototype such that individuals' behavior toward deviant ingroup members functions to sustain the group superiority and to enhance individuals' social self-concept (Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001). Although ingroup members are appraised positively compared to outgroup members, ingroup members who uphold group values and practices are viewed more positively than ingroup members who do not (i.e., deviants; Marques, Abrams, Parz, Martines-Taboada, 1998). Simply put, being a normative ingroup member leads to higher perceived likability and general favorability. On the other hand, deviant ingroup members are evaluated significantly more negatively than deviant outgroup members, demonstrating a motivation to establish a strong boundary between what constitutes ingroup and outgroup (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000).

Emotional Reactions to Deviant Ingroup Members

When an ingroup member behaves in a deviant manner, say concealing his racial identity, other ingroup members may feel ashamed by the behavior, which is linked directly to an array of strategies to insulate oneself from receiving further negative evaluations. For instance, in one of their experiments (Experiment 3), Pinto, Marques, Levine, and Abrams (2010) demonstrated that when older (vs. new) ingroup members displayed a deviant behavior (vs. non-deviant behavior), participants were more likely to endorse some forms of punishments in order to maintain the characteristics and behaviors that uphold their positive group identity. These punishments included forcing the deviant ingroup member to change his opinion, assigning low prestige tasks to the deviant ingroup member, and warning the deviant ingroup member about the negative

consequences he would suffer from holding such a deviant opinion. Similarly, Frings, Hurst, Cleveland, Blascovich, and Abrams (2012) found that deviant behaviors increased ingroup members' confrontation action tendency (a form of engagement behavior to communicate disapproval of someone's behavior) especially when ingroup members have the sufficient issue-relevant knowledge (IRK). Although their moderated mediation analysis did not yield significance due to the small number of sample ($n = 33$), participants with sufficient IRK perceived deviant ingroup members as posing high levels of challenge and threat to the group. Therefore, communication and confrontation in the face of threat to the group's social image are critical in preventing the deviant ingroup members' behavior from further reflecting poorly on the group's social image (Frings & Abrams, 2010).

Taking a deviant stance poses a threat to the group's social image. Chekroun and Nugier (2011) provide support that high threat (vs. low threat) to the group's social image provoked a greater intention to sanction the deviant ingroup member's behavior. They demonstrated that the intention to sanction the deviant ingroup member's behavior was driven by intense shame and embarrassment reported by participants when facing a group-threatening condition. Ingroup members may feel ashamed by other members' wrongdoings due to the fact that they share a similar social identity and the fact that some ingroup members might perceive the ingroup to be extremely central to their identity (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006).

Perceived Trustworthiness and Authenticity of Deviant Ingroup Members

The question of authenticity and perceived trustworthiness has been studied extensively in the authentic leadership and social identity theory of leadership literature,

whereby leaders who embody the expression of authenticity tend to have better relationships with their subordinates, gain more trust from those individuals, and manage to increase employee engagement (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa, 2005; Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing & Peterson, 2008). Similarly, leaders who are being perceived as more prototypical to their ingroup members – or a representation of the ingroup – will gain more influence from their followers because they represent the group norms and deliberately putting their group’s interest ahead of their own personal interest (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). Moreover, prototypical leaders (leaders who embody the group norms) have been shown to gain more trust from their ingroup members than non-prototypical leaders (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; Kalshoven & Den Hartog, 2009). Taking these findings together, Black targets who engage in résumé whitening – a strategy that can be construed as minimizing their own racial identity – might lose their ingroup members’ trust leading to the fact that these targets are shunning away from their group’s best interest by downplaying or concealing their racial identity.

In sum, previous research suggests a number of negative intragroup repercussions for Blacks who engage in résumé whitening. These include decreased likability (Abrams et al., 2000), decreased trustworthiness and perceived authenticity (Gardner et al., 2005; Walumbwa et al., 2008), greater negative emotional reactions (Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader et al., 2006), and lower intentions to have future interactions with the Black target (Gardner et al., 2005). In other words, engaging in this behavior might render the Black résumé whitener a “black sheep” among his or her group.

H1: Blacks participants are more likely to have negative reactions to a Black target who engages in résumé whitening (vs. a control Black target who does not engage in résumé whitening).

- a. Black participants will perceive a Black target who engages in résumé whitening as less likable, less trustworthy, and less authentic.
- b. Black participants will report more negative affective reactions (e.g., shame and embarrassment) and low positive affective reactions (e.g., happy, and pleased) toward a Black target who engages in résumé whitening (vs. a control Black target who does not engage in résumé whitening).
- c. Black participants will express less interest in meeting the Black target who engages in résumé whitening (vs. a control Black target who does not engage in résumé whitening).

1.3. Perceived Racial Identity as Mediator

Why do ingroup members negatively evaluate and, therefore, make the target a black sheep? An emerging body of literature points toward a potential mechanism of why ingroup members might derogate and negatively evaluate Blacks who act in an ingroup-deviant way. For example, because they violate the widely held Black stereotype of being poor, wealthy Blacks are perceived as weakly racially identified compared to non-wealthy Blacks by their fellow ingroup members (Johnson & Kaiser, 2013). Moreover, by violating an unspoken “Black code” to maintain a safe distance from Whites, Blacks who have cross-race close friends (vs. same-race close friends) are also perceived as weakly racially identified (Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014). When these Black targets

experienced discriminatory behavior (Johnson & Kaiser, 2013) or unfortunate events (Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014), ingroup members tended to show less empathy toward the targets. These findings were driven by a perception that the targets did not strongly identify with their race, and therefore, received fewer psychological resources from their ingroup members. Evidence from these two studies showed that low perceived racial identification mediated the effects of the manipulations (in terms of wealth and race of close friends) on empathy toward the targets. This is indeed reminiscent of the work by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) whereby Black students who outperformed their peers in school were being accused of “acting White.” These researchers argue that, due to their socialization with ingroup members and interpersonal conflicts with outgroup members, some Blacks perceive academic success as a White prerogative and begin to discourage their peers from emulating White people.

When individuals who do not fit the prototype (stereotypic traits) of their ingroup are denied their identification with that group, the result is called *identity denial* (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). If someone deviates from the prototypical attributes associated with a group, that person is less likely to be perceived as part of the ingroup. Cheryan and Monin (2005) through five different studies have provided support that Asian Americans are being perceived as less American because the American prototype associates the term American with White individuals. In those studies, Asian Americans were readily the targets of this perception, regardless of their own self-reported American identity. In another line of study, Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2010) found that White Americans were more likely to implicitly associate “White” and “American” than “Asian” and “American.” These sets of findings suggest that Asian Americans are perceived as being

less “American” because they are viewed as less prototypical compared to their White American counterparts. Cheryan and Monin were the first to coin the term identity denial for the experience that Asian Americans have with Whites, but Johnson and colleagues were the first to demonstrate this same phenomenon among the Black community. Thus, both outgroup and ingroup members can and do deny the identity of deviant ingroup members.

H2: Perceived racial identification of target will mediate the relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and ingroup members’ reactions (*See Figure 1*).

1.4. Participants’ Own Racial Identity as Moderator

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) have argued that an ingroup may become part of the self especially for people who strongly identify with the group. When someone is being categorized as a member of a group – even a group that is created using a minimal group paradigm – embodying stereotypical traits of that group is more important than showing one’s own unique and personal characteristics (Turner et al., 1987). Arguably, the various strategies to sanction or punish deviant ingroup members are especially important to preserve the ingroup distinctiveness (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004).

Findings from the social identity and social categorization theories suggest that in order for any group to maintain its distinctiveness, the group members have to internalize their group membership as part of their self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Specifically, the idea of “us” versus “them” comes about when group members care about establishing their identity as a collective rather than as different individual components. Building on the same line of thinking, the black sheep effect also suggests

that negative reactions toward deviant ingroup members would be especially harsh when perceivers strongly identify with their ingroup. For instance, Hutchison and Abrams (2003) show that, compared to low ingroup-identifiers, high ingroup-identifiers expressed more dislike and contempt for the deviant ingroup members following the undesirable (non-normative) actions. In their “Taboo” game paradigm, Biernat, Vescio, and Billings (1999) demonstrated that when White participants rated their ingroup membership to be important, they were more likely to derogate poorly performing White partners relative to poorly performing Black partners. Moreover, highly identified Whites also experienced mood changes (from more positive to more negative) as a result of being in the same team as the poorly performing White partners. Alternatively, for Black individuals who endorse assimilation ideology, research has shown that they are more likely to forgive ingroup deviant behaviors including acting more stereotypically White (Smalls, White, Chavous, & Sellers, 2007). It would appear that the impact of deviant behavior only affects some ingroup members and not the others. These findings, together, show that participants’ own racial identity (or ingroup identification) and assimilation ideology will be two important moderators to consider in the present study.

H3: Participants’ own racial identity and assimilation ideology will moderate the effect of résumé whitening on perceived racial identification of target and on reactions to the target.

- a. The negative relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and target’s perceived racial identification will be stronger for Black participants with high ingroup identification and minimal for Black participants with low ingroup identification (See Figure 2).

- b. The negative relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and the outcome measures (perceived likability, trustworthiness, authenticity, affective reactions, and future encounters) will be stronger for Black participants with high ingroup identification and minimal for Black participants with low ingroup identification. (The same pattern is expected across DVs).
- c. The negative relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and target's perceived racial identification will be stronger for Black participants with low assimilation ideology and higher for Black participants with high assimilation ideology.
- d. The negative relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and the outcome measures (perceived likability, trustworthiness, authenticity, affective reactions, and future encounters) will be stronger for Black participants with low assimilation ideology and weaker for Black participants with high assimilation ideology. (The same pattern is expected across DVs).

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

2.1. Brief Overview

Black participants were recruited to evaluate résumés that were allegedly collected from a résumé-building workshop. Participants first learned about a Black man named DeShawn in a cover story, given the chance to review DeShawn's résumé, and provided some feedback along with answering the focal questions for this experiment. The résumé presented was either whitened or non-whitened. The major dependent variables were likeability of DeShawn, emotional reactions (e.g. positive and negative emotions) evoke by him, and the likelihood of future encounter with DeShawn. Some related exploratory measures include hireability of DeShawn and his perceived authenticity. It was expected that the whitened (vs. non-whitened) résumé would lead to more negative reactions to the target, and this relationship will be mediated by lower perceived racial identification.

2.2. Participants and Design

Following the recommendation made by Johnson and Kaiser (2013), with the effect size of 0.8 (large effect size), 0.8 as the power, and two experimental groups, G*Power software suggested 52 participants to be recruited. However, to account for a relatively complex model with multiple interaction terms as well as manipulation/attentional errors, 350 Black participants were recruited from the Turk Prime's Panel service to evaluate résumés that were allegedly collected from a résumé-building workshop. A sensitivity analysis revealed that recruiting 350 participants allows the current study to detect even a medium effect size (please refer to the results section). I utilized the Turk Prime Panel instead of the traditional student participants' pool with the

intention of increasing the representativeness and generalizability of findings of the current study (Buhrmester, Talaifar, & Gosling, 2018). Participants were not aware that résumé whitening was going to be the focus of this study; they were led to believe that their primary focus was to appraise the résumé and answer critical relevant questions.

2.3. Procedure

Participants were asked to participate in this “résumé feedback” study. Unbeknownst to participants was the fact that they were invited to participate in this study because of their racial group membership (Black), which they provided to M-Turk upon registering as a worker. After reading the study descriptions and consenting to the study, participants were told that they were going to learn about a target who attended the résumé building workshop, named DeShawn Thompson. The cover story and other cues to strengthen the manipulation were presented on a screen-to-screen basis as to avoid information overload or negligence from the participants. Participants were also reminded throughout the experiment to pay attention to the cover story and other similarly important materials. The cover story was shown as the following:

“DeShawn just graduated from Carson College of Business at Washington State University last spring. Currently, he is working as a project manager in a small firm back in his hometown. He is looking for a new job that would fit his personality better. While at Washington State, DeShawn was very active in the Black Greek life. As the President of Alpha Phi Alpha, he spearheaded a few philanthropic projects that helped Black children get access to academic tutors. DeShawn is also an active member of the National Association for African Americans in Human Resources. In April of 2017, he presented at a conference on the topic of “Empowering Black Identity through Vicarious Learning.”

To increase the salience of the racial identity cues, I provided a professional headshot of DeShawn and two pictures of DeShawn with other Black individuals (i.e., his

engagement in organizations that were predominantly Black) on three different screens. Importantly, short captions were provided for each picture to facilitate deeper information processing (Moscovitch & Craik, 1987). The professional headshot of DeShawn was accompanied by a caption that described his professional side (i.e., being a business student, hoping to land a job after graduation, and some work experiences). The other two pictures of DeShawn captured his professional affiliation with Alpha Phi Alpha. These two pictures also highlighted DeShawn's active involvement in Black-centered organizations as well as some of the leadership roles that he has fulfilled.

Next, participants were shown the alleged résumé from DeShawn, either whitened or non-whitened (please see Appendix). In the résumé-whitened condition, there were noticeable changes made by DeShawn. Particularly, these changes included using his first name as an initial (his middle name, which was Michael, was being utilized) and concealing the fact that he was the President of a Black Greek life (it was revealed that he was the President of one of the fraternities on campus rather than explicitly mentioned Alpha Phi Alpha). On the other hand, in the control condition, all the information from the original résumé created by DeShawn remained the same. In other words, the information presented in the cover story matched that of DeShawn's résumé. After participants were exposed to the manipulation conditions (whitened vs. non-whitened résumés), they answered multiple measures that were theoretically justified, exploratory in nature, or significant to maintain the integrity of the cover story.

2.4. Measures

2.4.1. Open-ended Reactions to the Résumé

After reading the cover story and perusing one of the two résumés (whitened vs. non-whitened), participants were asked to complete a one-item open-ended question to assess their perspectives on the given résumé: “Please take a moment to provide DeShawn with feedback in regard to his résumé.” Participants were allowed to provide feedback for DeShawn’s résumé in order for him to improve. Given that the nature of any résumé would allow for room for improvement, I expected participants to provide some constructive feedback to DeShawn (e.g., using stronger verbs to describe his skills). This assessment also allowed participants to criticize DeShawn for changing his résumé to sound more stereotypically White.

2.4.2. Hireability

In order to maintain the integrity of the cover story, participants were first asked to indicate their evaluations of DeShawn’s hireability (adapted from Madera, Hebl, & Martin, 2009). The measure of hireability was based on these five items: “I am likely to hire DeShawn,” “I think that DeShawn is a ‘top-notch’ candidate,” “I think that DeShawn would make an effective employee,” “I think that DeShawn is excellent at what he does professionally,” and “I think that DeShawn would be a reliable employee.” These items were rated on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree), and the measure was highly reliable based on previous research ($\alpha = .99$).

2.4.3. Likability

Similar to Abrams et al. (2000), participants were asked to rate the likeability of DeShawn based on five-item questions adapted from Abrams et al. (2000) and Pattyn and Bracke (2013). Some of the questions included: “I think I would like DeShawn,” “I think DeShawn and I would work well together,” “I would be willing to make friends with DeShawn,” and “DeShawn and I have a lot in common.” These items were rated on a seven-point scale (1 = not at all, to 7 = extremely).

2.4.4. Future Interactions

The measure of future interactions/encounter with DeShawn was adapted and extended from Blumberg and Hokanson (1983) and Veksler and Eden (2017). The sample items included, “I would like to work with DeShawn in the future,” “I would be willing to include DeShawn in my circle of friends,” “I think that future interactions with DeShawn would be pleasurable,” and “I would enjoy interacting with DeShawn in the future.” These items were also rated on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree).

2.4.5. Affective Reactions

I employed the affective reactions measure (Schmader & Lickel, 2006, paper 2; Lickel et al., 2005) to understand the extent to which participants harbored negative and positive affective reactions toward DeShawn. Participants were asked to think about DeShawn and his resume while responding to various affective reactions. Shame subscale has been reliable in previous research (alpha ranging from .76 to .78), and were measured using four items including: ashamed, humiliated, embarrassed, and disgraced. Anger were assessed with four items including: angry, disgusted, outraged, and offended

(Schmader & Lickel, 2006, paper 2; Lickel et al., 2005). As for positive affective reactions, I measured participants' positive reactions based on the following items: happy, joyful, thrilled, contented, and pleased. All of these measures were rated from the scale of 1 to 5 (1 = does not describe my feelings, to 7 = clearly describe my feelings).

2.4.6. Perceived Racial Identification

To assess the target's perceived racial identification (whether or not DeShawn is perceived as weakly racially identified), a set of measures was adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) identity subscale of the collective self-esteem scale. This four-item measure has been used in previous studies of identity denial (Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014; Johnson & Kaiser, 2013), with a good reliability ($\alpha = .87$). The items were: "Being a Black person is an important reflection of who DeShawn is," "Overall, being Black has very little to do with how DeShawn feels about himself," "Being Black is unimportant to DeShawn's sense of what kind of person he is," and "Being Black is an important part of DeShawn's self-image." These items were rated on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree). The second and third items were reverse-coded.

2.4.7. Perceived Authenticity

Since engagement in résumé whitening may evoke questions of target's authenticity, eleven items were adapted from Kernis and Goldman's authenticity measure (2006). These items have been used in previous research and yielded an acceptable test-retest reliability between .69 and .87. Some of the sample items included were: "DeShawn is willing to change himself for others if the reward is desirable enough," "DeShawn finds it easy to pretend to be something other than his true self," "DeShawn's

behavior typically expresses his value,” and “DeShawn is willing to endure negative consequences by expressing his true beliefs about things.” These items were rated on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree).

2.4.8. Participants’ Own Racial Identification

To assess how strong Black participants identified with their ingroup identity, the Centrality Subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) was utilized. The measure comprised of a total of eight items using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree) with good reliability in previous research ($\alpha = .77$). The sample items included, “In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image,” “I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people,” “Being Black is an important reflection of who I am,” and “I have a strong attachment to other Black people.”

2.4.9. Participants’ Own Assimilation Ideology

To understand whether or not participants’ reactions to résumé whitening was a function of their assimilation ideology, nine items were adapted from the Assimilation Subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). This measure has received good reliability in previous research ($\alpha = .73$). Some examples of the items included were: “A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before,” “Blacks should strive to be the full members of the American political system,” “Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their economic and political goals,” and “Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.” Similar to participants’ own

racial identification measure, this measure was rated on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree).

2.4.10. Manipulation Check

Two items were being used to make sure that the participants were paying attention to the manipulations: “What is the name of the person whose résumé you just read?” (options: Tyrone Smith, DeShawn Thompson, Timothy Johnson), and “What is the person’s race?” (options: Black/African American, White/Caucasian, Asian American).

2.4.11. Attention Check

Two attention checks were employed to discern which participants were actually reading the items carefully. The first attention check item was embedded in the mediator (perceived racial identification) measure: “if you are reading this, please check strongly disagree (1).” The second attention check was embedded in the hireability measure: “if you are reading this, please check agree (6).”

2.4.12. Demographics

Multiple demographic variables were measured in the study, including gender, race/ethnicity, country of origin, age, whether or not participants have engaged in résumé whitening, and the appropriateness of engaging in résumé whitening.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

3.1. Preliminary Analyses

Prior to conducting any planned analyses, the dataset went through a preparation process. First, all the variables included in the study were rescored so that a higher value indicates a higher level of that variable. Specifically, two items from the perceived racial identification of DeShawn (items 1 and 3) and three items from participants' own racial identity (items 1, 4, and 8), taken from a subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, were rescored. Second, the initial sample ($N = 350$) was screened to remove participants who did not meet certain criteria. After a visual scan of the open-ended questions, 50 participants were removed because they responded in a manner that was not consistent with the questions. Particularly, the prompt asked participants to describe the purpose of the current study. Some responses that were excluded read, "this survey is a very nice," "I like very interesting participate in this study," and "great questions that provoke thought." 30 additional cases were removed because these participants failed the attention check; no participants were removed for failing manipulation checks. Lastly, 13 participants were removed due to not self-identifying as Black/African American. A chi-square analysis was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in the number of participants being removed across the two conditions. Results show that there is no significant difference in the removal of participants in either non-whitened or whitened résumé conditions, $\chi^2(1, 350) = 1.686, p = .194$. Thus, the final working sample consisted of 257 total participants. Of these participants, 66.5 percent were female participants, and the average age was 36.16 years old. A sensitivity power analysis using G*Power Tool (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang., &

Buchner, 2007) revealed that the current study was adequately powered to find an effect size of $d = .35$ (medium effect size) at $p < .05$ for a between subject t-tests with two groups and 256 degrees of freedom.

For each of the variables used in the study, means and standard deviations were calculated. Bivariate correlations between these variables were computed as well and can be seen in Table 1. The scales that measured variables of interest in this study all showed good reliability (all Cronbach's α s were above .70; see Table 1). Upon careful examination, likability and future interactions scales were highly correlated with one another ($r = .83$), which raised the question that they might tap into the same construct. To address this concern, I first standardized the likability and future interactions scales. After that, I created a composite score that averaged the two standardized scales and labeled it standardized future encounters scale. All the dependent, mediating, and moderating variables are correlated in the expected directions. However, the demographic variables did not correlate with other variables in a meaningful way, and therefore, were removed from further data analyses. Because the potential moderators (participants' own racial identity and assimilation ideology) were measured after the manipulation, I conducted an independent sample t-test to ensure that the manipulation conditions did not significantly affect these moderators. The t-test results revealed that the manipulation did not significantly affect participants' own racial identity ($t(255) = 1.271, p = .205$) or participants' assimilation ideology ($t(255) = -1.132, p = .259$).

3.2. Hypothesis Tests

In order to test Hypothesis 1, independent-samples t-tests were conducted to determine whether or not there is a significant difference between the non-whitened and

whitened résumé conditions in predicting the following variables: perceived racial identification of DeShawn and perceived authenticity (both were potential mediator variables); hireability, standardized future encounters, positive emotions, and negative emotions (these were the dependent variables). The results show that there was no significant difference between non-whitened and whitened résumé conditions on perceived racial identification of DeShawn, perceived authenticity, hireability, standardized future encounters, and negative emotions. However, the whitened résumé condition resulted in less positive emotions compared to non-whitened résumé condition (for *t*-test and *p*-value for these variables, please refer to Table 2). Taken together, Hypothesis 1 (b) is partially supported. Since the independent-samples *t*-tests did not yield significant difference between the non-whitened and whitened résumé conditions on perceived racial identification of DeShawn and perceived authenticity (potential mediators), I concluded that the data did not support Hypothesis 2.

Next, I ran Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro model 1 to test a simple moderation model in which résumé whitening conditions would have differing ingroup members' negative reactions based on participants' own racial group identification (Hypothesis 3). I examined the interaction effects of résumé whitening conditions and participants' own racial group identification on two main sets of variables: (1) perceived racial identification of DeShawn and perceived authenticity of DeShawn (mediator variables), and (2) hireability, standardized future encounters, positive emotions, and negative emotions (dependent variables). The interactions were not significant for the two mediator variables tested, suggesting that participants' own racial group identification does not moderate the relationship between résumé whitening conditions and perceived

racial identification of DeShawn, $F(1, 253) = 1.18, p = .28, \Delta R^2 = .004$, and perceived authenticity of DeShawn, $F(1, 253) = 1.60, p = .21, \Delta R^2 = .006$. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 (a) is not supported.

The interactions were also not significant for three out of four dependent variables, suggesting that participants' own racial group identification does not moderate the relationship between résumé whitening conditions and future interactions, $F(1, 253) = .07, p = .80, \Delta R^2 = .000$, positive emotions, $F(1, 253) = .06, p = .81, \Delta R^2 = .000$, and negative emotions, $F(1, 253) = .54, p = .46, \Delta R^2 = .002$. The only interaction that was significant was between résumé whitening conditions and participants' own racial group identification in predicting hireability, $F(1, 253) = 4.33, p = .04, \Delta R^2 = .016$ (please refer to Table 3 for regression analyses). The interaction was probed by examining the conditional effects of résumé whitening conditions at one standard deviation above and below the mean of participants' own racial identification (*please refer to Figure 2*). A simple slope test revealed that, for those participants who strongly identified with being Black, perceived hireability of the Black target was lower in the whitened résumé compared to the non-whitened résumé condition ($p = .047$). However, this slope effect was not significant for participants who were low on racial centrality ($p = .353$). All in all, Hypothesis 3 (b) is partially supported.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

4.1. Contributions

The current study investigated the potential backlash that might be coming from ingroup members when a Black target engages in résumé whitening. Specifically, I tested three hypotheses based on the frameworks of black sheep effect (Marquez & Paez, 1994), social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Turner, & Smith, 1984), and identity denial (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014). Overall, I found that engagement in résumé whitening resulted in participants expressing lower positive emotions toward the Black résumé whitener. Moreover, I established that, for participants who strongly identified with their ingroup (being Black was central to their identity), the Black target in the current study was perceived to be less hireable when he whitened his résumé versus when he did not. However, for participants who were low on racial centrality, there was no significant difference in the Black target's hireability. Taken together, it would appear that Black résumé whiteners may have to pay a price for concealing or downplaying their racial identity on their résumés when being evaluated by strongly identified ingroup members, particularly in their perception of hireability.

This finding is consistent with previous literature on the black sheep effect. Specifically, researchers have found that when a person violates the norm of his/her group, he or she will be more likely to receive negative reactions from fellow ingroup members (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abram, 2010). Moreover, these negative reactions are more prominent for group members who strongly identify with their ingroup (Biernat, Vescio, & Billings, 1999; Castano, Paladino, Coull, & Yzerbyt,

2002). This study extends previous research on the black sheep effect and ingroup identification by demonstrating that a Black résumé whitener elicits lower positive emotions from fellow ingroup members than a non-résumé whitener. Furthermore, I also found that participants who strongly identified with being Black were less likely to find the Black résumé whitener to be hireable when compared to the non-résumé whitener. In hindsight, the dependent variables in this study could be categorized into social interaction (e.g., positive and negative emotions, future encounters) and job-related (e.g., hireability) variables. Aside from perceptions of the hireability of and positive emotions elicited by the Black target, the current study did not receive support for résumé whitening affecting the Black target's perceived racial identification, perceived authenticity, negative emotions, and future encounters (which were comprised of likability and future encounter measures). The lack of significant findings in the current study could be because Black participants liked the Black target and accepted him regardless of his engagement in résumé whitening. In other words, Black individuals may still perceive Black résumé whiteners as part of their ingroup, and therefore are less likely to punish the résumé whiteners, socially, as evident by the near ceiling effects for both measures of hireability and future encounters as well as the floor effect of neg. However, for those participants who strongly identified with their ingroup, the data suggested a different story: these participants found the Black résumé whitener to be less hireable. This lower perception of hireability could be driven by the assumption that these individuals care deeply about their ingroup and, naturally, how their ingroup members are being perceived. In the current study, I predicted that perceived racial identity and perceived authenticity would be the potential mediators to explain the relationship

between engagement in résumé whitening and negative reactions toward the Black résumé whitener. However, the data did not support my claim. Future research would benefit from examining some of the theoretically meaningful yet unexamined mediators and perhaps clarify whether or not the lack of findings in the current study was due to measurement issues (not utilizing right measure of perceived racial identification and perceived authenticity) or to some other factors that are unexamined in the current research. One possible mediating variable that could explain negative reactions received by the Black resume whitener is that participants may think they could not identify with him because the Black resume whitener does not face the same discrimination experiences as other Black ingroup members who did not whiten their resumes. As a result of this lack of identification with the Black resume whitener, Black ingroup members are more likely to express negative reactions toward him.

The current study has some practical contributions as well. Kang et al. (2016) found that whitened résumés received more callbacks for employment than non-whitened résumés, even for companies that appeared to value diversity. It is also not surprising that, in their first study, Kang et al. (2016) found that some of their respondents whitened their résumés to get ahead in the job market, following recommendations made by their mentors, advisors, sponsors, or coaches. However, the current study points out that whitening one's résumé might not necessarily be helpful in maintaining professional relationships with fellow ingroup members. Particularly, Black résumé whiteners may receive negative consequences from their ingroup members, especially for those who strongly identified with being Black. This, in turn, could be detrimental due to the fact

that members of stigmatized groups tend to rely on each other to buffer against prejudice and discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

4.2. Limitations and Future Directions

Despite some aspects of the hypotheses being supported, there were a few concerns that should be addressed. One important concern from the current study was the lack of variability in some of the dependent variables. Specifically, negative emotions measure ($M = 1.07$, $SD = .30$) reached a floor effect: Black participants in this sample did not exhibit negative emotions toward the target irrespective of the résumé whitening conditions. In general, across two conditions (non-whitened and whitened résumé), Black participants tended to rate the Black target positively. This could be due to the fact that in the current study, I portrayed the Black target positively across all aspects of his résumé as well as in the cover story provided. In an effort to increase the salience of his racial identity, the study might have gone too far, and that resulted in participants rating the Black target as generally very hireable and worthy of future interactions. A mix of positive and negative qualities might help in creating higher variability in future data, consistent with previous research on group dynamics (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003). In other words, future studies would benefit from introducing subjectivity to the Black target's résumé and cover story by incorporating components that are very positive about him as well as areas for him to improve. An alternative explanation as to why the current study did not obtain full support for my hypotheses could be attributed to the possibility that Black participants did not perceive engagement in résumé whitening as a deviant ingroup behavior. However, an additional independent t-test was conducted to determine whether or not there was a significant

difference on my dependent variables between participants who have engaged in résumé whitening themselves and those who have not engaged in such behavior. I found that there was no significant difference between these two groups of participants in response to my dependent variables. However, in my sample, only about 12 percent of my participants reported having engaged in résumé whitening previously, which is significantly lower than what Kang et al. (2016) have found (about 36 percent of their interviewees reported having engaged in résumé whitening). The relatively low percentages seem to suggest that engagement in résumé whitening is not a norm in the Black community, and therefore, this alternative explanation for the present results might be very unlikely.

Next, my hypothesis about identity denial as a potential mediator was not supported. As part of the study, I also included a measure of authenticity of the target. Again, perceived authenticity failed to serve as a mediating variable to explain the relationship between engagement in résumé whitening and negative reactions (hireability, future encounters, positive emotions, negative emotions). Specifically, I did not obtain condition effects on perceived racial identification. This could be because the cover story used in this study was too salient in portraying the Black target as an ideal ingroup member which allowed Black ingroup members to have a relatively positive impression of the Black target. For instance, the Black target was portrayed as being active in Black Greek life; he helped organized fundraising events to help Black children get access to academic tutors; he presented at a conference on the topic of “Empowering Black Identity through Vicarious Learning.” Perhaps future studies could strengthen the discrepancy between the cover story about the Black target and his résumé by providing

less positive information about the Black target in the cover story. I suspect that by providing less information about a target, participants are more likely to make different interpretations about the acceptability of résumé whitening (Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993).

The fact that identity denial did not work as a mediating variable in the current study could mean that the way I manipulated engagement in résumé whitening did not speak to target's racial identification as much as I had thought. It could also mean that, for Black individuals, engaging in résumé whitening (downplaying one's racial identity on résumés) does not necessarily equate to being less Black in actuality. In my open-ended questions that were originally conceptualized to screen fake participants, I observed that some participants (about 15 participants) acknowledged that the Black target had changed his name and professional affiliations to sound more stereotypically White. However, these participants also noted that doing so might be necessary to get ahead because of the discriminatory nature of the labor market. Although not tested quantitatively, perhaps some Black participants (excluding those who reported being Black was important to their identity) readily make justification on behalf of targets who engage in résumé whitening, as indicated by how much participants wanted to hire the Black target. Future studies could benefit from specifically measuring the likelihood of Black individuals making justifications for fellow ingroup members following deviant or non-normative behaviors.

Lastly, the current study only examined the effects of engaging in résumé whitening from Black ingroup members' perspective. Therefore, the results of this study cannot necessarily be generalized to other racial groups. However, there is reason to

believe that other stigmatized racial groups (e.g., Latinos, Asians) who rely on their ingroup members to buffer against prejudice and discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; McCoy & Major, 2003) might punish ingroup résumé whiteners for downplaying the role of their racial identity on their résumés – they may perceive this behavior as a deviant act. Important to note, however, is that the negative outcomes of engaging in résumé whitening would not be observed if ingroup members perceive the behavior as acceptable or justifiable. Future studies could address whether or not engagement in résumé whitening would predict negative reactions from the Latino and Asian ingroup members' perspectives.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Members of stigmatized racial groups are well-aware of potentially being discriminated against in the labor market. Some of these individuals may decide to engage in résumé whitening – a phenomenon in which members of stigmatized racial groups downplay or conceal the role of their racial identity in their résumés – in order to get ahead. Although this strategy seems to help them receive more callbacks from future employment, the current study establishes a case that engaging in résumé whitening may result in backlash from fellow ingroup members, especially for those who view their race as highly important to their identity. The literature would benefit significantly from further exploration of this topic so that the complexity of identity management of Black individuals may be understood on a deeper level.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Variable Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Perceived Target Racial Identification	5.72	1.18	(0.76)							
Perceived Target Authenticity	5.10	0.94	0.37**	(0.87)						
Participants' Own Racial Identity (centrality)	4.96	1.44	0.44**	0.21**	(0.91)					
Participants' Assimilation	4.78	0.93	0.02	0.05	-0.18**	(0.76)				
Hireability	6.12	0.84	0.18**	0.37**	0.21**	0.10	(0.91)			
Future Encounters	5.62	0.96	0.15*	0.36**	0.41**	0.06	0.65**	(0.94)		
Positive Emotions	3.43	1.09	0.11	0.42**	0.34**	0.12	0.50**	0.53**	(0.87)	
Negative Emotions	1.07	0.30	-0.23**	-0.17**	-0.10	-0.01	-0.25**	-0.13*	-0.02	(0.89)

*Correlation is significant at $p < .05$ (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Note: Values in diagonal represent Cronbach's alpha

Table 2: Comparing Non-Whited (0) and Whited (1) Résumé Conditions

		Conditions				
Variable		<u>Non- whitened</u> (n = 118)	<u>Whitened</u> (n = 139)	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i> -value	Effect size (Cohen's D)
Perceived racial identification	<i>M</i>	5.77	5.67	.640	.523	.085
	<i>SD</i>	(1.17)	(1.18)			
Perceived authenticity	<i>M</i>	5.18	5.03	1.351	.178	.162
	<i>SD</i>	(.94)	(.91)			
Participants' own racial identification	<i>M</i>	5.08	4.85	1.271	.205	.160
	<i>SD</i>	(1.38)	(1.49)			
Participants' assimilation ideal	<i>M</i>	4.71	4.84	-1.132	.259	.139
	<i>SD</i>	(.93)	(.94)			
Hireability	<i>M</i>	6.18	6.07	1.037	.301	.130
	<i>SD</i>	(.87)	(.82)			
Standardized future encounters	<i>M</i>	.02	-.01	.267	.790	.031
	<i>SD</i>	(1.03)	(.90)			
Positive emotions	<i>M</i>	3.61	3.27	2.498	.013	.316
	<i>SD</i>	(1.05)	(1.10)			
Negative emotions	<i>M</i>	1.09	1.06	.554	.580	.097
	<i>SD</i>	(.40)	(.18)			

Table 3: Regression output predicting hireability with conditions, participants' own racial identification, and interaction term between résumé conditions and participants' own racial identification as predictors.

	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i> -value	Lower boundary confidence interval	Upper boundary confidence interval
Constant	5.126	.289	17.760	.000	4.567	5.695
Conditions	.667	.374	1.782	.076	-.070	1.404
Participants' own racial identification	.207	.055	3.782	.000	.099	.315
Interaction between resume conditions and participants' own racial identification	-.150	.072	-2.080	.039	-.292	-.008

Appendix B: Figures

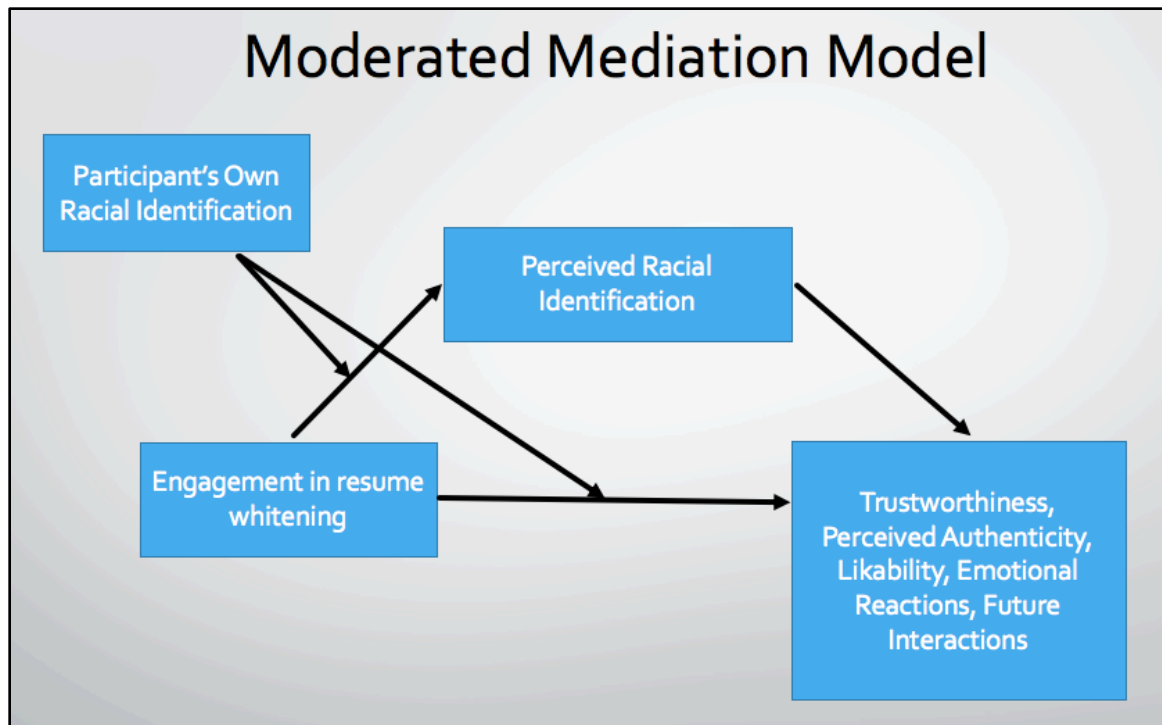


Figure 1: Proposed model of the study.

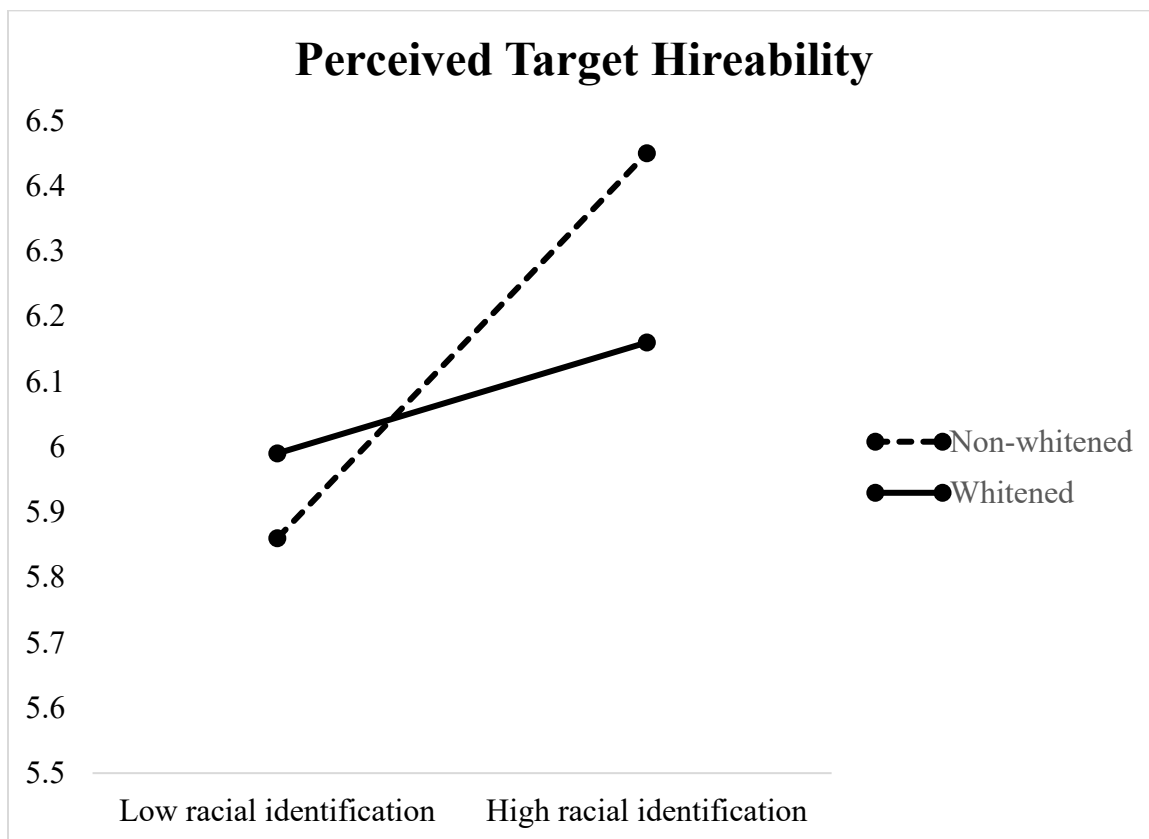


Figure 2: Hypothesized interaction between participants' own racial identity and résumé whitening conditions on target's hireability.

Appendix C: Materials

Non-Whitened Résumé

DESHAWN M. THOMPSON

3217 Hedridge Ln, Pullman WA, 99165 | (999)-999-9999 | dthompson97@wsu.edu

OBJECTIVE

Hardworking business student with proven leadership, organizational, and micro management skills seeking to apply my knowledge, skills, and abilities to (position name) at (company name).

EXPERIENCE

Pullman Chamber Associates

Project Manager – Internet and Website Architect | January 2018 to present

Played key role in project completion within record time of five months (instead of nine months)

Helped create one-stop database for the company; assisted with multiple edits and changes to the website; monitored progress made by the assigned team

Clear Channel Management

Summer Intern | May 2017 to August 2017

Performed market research to compare competitor prices

Attended and took a little bit of notes for several sales calls

Tried to maintain relationships with clients and updated their contact information

EDUCATION

Washington State University

Bachelor's Degree (expected May 2018)

- Majors: Supply Chain Management and Marketing
 - GPA: 3.83
-

AWARDS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

President for the Washington State University Black Student Union

Active Member of National Association for African Americans in Human Resources

- Presented at a conference in April 2017 on the topic of “**Empowering Black Identity through Vicarious Learning.**”

Treasurer for Student Organization Center

Dean's Recognition Merit Scholarship – receiver for four semesters in a row

Whitened Résumé

D. MICHAEL THOMPSON

3217 Hedridge Ln, Pullman WA, 99165 | (999)-999-9999 | dthompson97@wsu.edu

OBJECTIVE

Hardworking business student with proven leadership, organizational, and micro management skills seeking to apply my knowledge, skills, and abilities to (position name) at (company name).

EXPERIENCE

Pullman Chamber Associates

Project Manager – Internet and Website Architect | January 2018 to present

Played key role in project completion within record time of five months (instead of nine months)

Helped create one-stop database for the company; assisted with multiple edits and changes to the website; monitored progress made by the assigned team

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Active Member of National Association for Students in Human Resources

- Presented at a conference in April 2017 on the topic of “**Empowering Different Identities through Vicarious Learning.**”

Treasurer for Student Organization Center

Dean's Recognition Merit Scholarship – receiver for four semesters in a row

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Centrality)

Participants respond regarding the extent to which they endorse the items on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7) only in the centrality subscale.

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself. ^b
2. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
4. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. ^b
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
7. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships. ^b

Note: b = items were reversed for scoring.

Source:

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 73(4), 805.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Assimilation)

Participants respond regarding the extent to which they endorse the items on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7) only in the assimilation subscale.

1. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.
2. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.
3. Because America is predominantly White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.
4. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.
5. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.
6. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.
7. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.
8. Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.
9. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.

Source:

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 73(4), 805.

Perceived Racial Identity (adapted from Collective Self-Esteem Scale)

The 4 items are rated on a 7-point scale with the following response options: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (disagree somewhat), 4 (neutral), 5 (agree somewhat), 6 (agree), and 7 (strongly agree).

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how DeShawn feels about himself.^b
2. Being Black is an important reflection of who DeShawn is.
3. Being Black is unimportant to DeShawn's sense of what kind of person he is.^b
4. Being Black is an important part of DeShawn's self-image.

Note: b = items were reversed for scoring.

Adapted from:

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 18(3), 302-318.

Hireability Scale

Responses are recorded on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 9 = very much.

1. How likely would you be willing to hire DeShawn?
2. To what extent is DeShawn a “top-notch” candidate?
3. Is it likely that DeShawn will make an effective employee?
4. Based on what you know about DeShawn, how “excellent” do you think he is?

Source:

Madera, J. M., Hebl, M. R., & Martin, R. C. (2009). Gender and letters of recommendation for academia: agentic and communal differences. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*(6), 1591.

Likeability

The five-items are rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely).

1. I think I would like DeShawn.
2. I think DeShawn and I would work well together.
3. I would be willing to make friends with DeShawn.
4. DeShawn and I have a lot in common.
5. DeShawn's personality is similar to my own.

Adapted from:

Abrams, D., Marques, J. M., Bown, N., & Henson, M. (2000). Pro-norm and anti-norm deviance within and between groups. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 78(5), 906.

Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Johnson, E. R. (2016). Backlash against male elementary educators. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 46(7), 379-393.

Future Interactions/Encounters

The five-items are rated on a 7-point scale with the following response options: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (disagree somewhat), 4 (neutral), 5 (agree somewhat), 6 (agree), and 7 (strongly agree).

1. I would like to work with DeShawn in the future.
2. I would be willing to include DeShawn in my circle of friends.
3. I think that future interactions with DeShawn would be pleasurable.
4. I would enjoy interacting with DeShawn in the future.
5. I would like to get to know DeShawn better.

Adapted from:

Blumberg, S. R., & Hokanson, J. E. (1983). The effects of another person's response style on interpersonal behavior in depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 92(2), 196.

Veksler, A. E., & Eden, J. (2017). Measuring interpersonal liking as a cognitive evaluation: Development and validation of the IL-6. *Western Journal of Communication*, 81(5), 641-656.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Muhammad Fazuan Bin Abdul Karim

Education

- M.S., Applied Social and Organizational Psychology, March 2021
 - Indiana University degree, earned at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI), Indianapolis, IN
- B.A., Psychology and Criminal Justice with a minor in Counseling, May 2017
 - Indiana University Bloomington, Bloomington, IN

Honors and Awards

- Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race HOPE Fund (\$500), Recipient in August 2020
- Society for Personality and Social Psychology Emergency Bridging Grant (\$500), Recipient in July 2020
- IUPUI Department of Psychology Outstanding Graduate Student Teaching Award (\$100), Recipient in March 2020
- IUPUI School of Science Outstanding Graduate Student Teaching Award (\$500), Recipient in February 2020
- Society for Personality and Social Psychology Diversity Travel Award (\$500), Recipient in September 2019
- Midwestern Psychological Association Diversity Travel Award (\$100), Recipient in April 2018

- Distinguished Hoosier Award, Recipient in May 2017 (the award was given to a senior who excelled academically while distinguishing him or herself through self-reliance, perseverance and commitment to excellence).
- Perdana Scholar's Award, Finalist in July 2016 (the award was given to celebrate Malaysian students who have achieved the highest performance, in regards to academic and volunteerism).
- Dean's Lists – Indiana University, Recipient (five semesters)
- University Division Scholar – Indiana University Bloomington, Recipient in February 2015

Publications

- Ashburn-Nardo, L., & Abdul Karim, M. F. (2019). The CPR model: Decisions involved in confronting prejudice responses. In R. Mallett, & M. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors*, Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Conference Presentations

- **Abdul Karim, M. F. & Ashburn-Nardo, L.,** (April 2020). African Americans' Negative Reactions toward Ingroup Résumé Whiteners. Oral presentation will be presented at the annual meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association Conference. Chicago, IL. (Conference was cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic).

- Muller, L., Pietri, E., & **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, (April 2020). Exploring Organizational Identity-Safety Cues for Lesbian and Gay Employees. Oral presentation will be presented at the annual meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association Conference. Chicago, IL. (Conference was cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic).
- **Abdul Karim, M. F.** & Pietri, E., (August 2019). Getting Thrown under the Rainbow Bus: Heterosexual Men's Reluctance to Endorse LGBTQ-Supportive Policies Following Threat Perceptions. Oral presentation was presented at the IUPUI School of Science Graduate Student Symposium. Indianapolis, IN.
- Fukui, S., **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, & Salyers, M. P., (January 2019). Factors That Affect Quality of Care Among Mental Health Providers. Paper talk presented at the annual meeting of the 2019 Society for Social Work and Research. San Francisco, CA.
- **Abdul Karim, M. F.** & Devine, D. J., Olson, M., (April 2018). All Rise: Studying Juries From the Gallery. Paper talk presented at the annual meeting of the 2018 Midwestern Psychological Association Conference. Chicago, IL.
- Devine, D. J., Olson, M., & **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, (March 2018). All Rise: Studying Juries From the Gallery. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the 2018 American Psychology – Law Society Conference. Memphis, TN.
- Schneider, J., **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, Williams, J. (June 2020). You Threatened My Manhood: Reactions to Feedback from Female Supervisors. Poster was presented at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues's 2020

Summer Conference. Denver, CO. (Conference was cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic).

- **Abdul Karim, M. F. & Pietri, E.**, (February 2020). Heterosexual Men's Reluctance to Endorse LGBT-Supportive Policies: The Role of Perceived Threat and Negative Attitudes toward LGBT. Poster was presented at the Gender Preconference of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. New Orleans, LA.
- **Abdul Karim, M. F. & Ashburn-Nardo, L.**, (February 2020). African Americans' Negative Reactions toward In-group Résumé Whiteners. Poster was presented at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology Conference. New Orleans, LA.
- McMurray, K., Hall, D., **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, & Ashburn-Nardo, L., (April 2020). Are There Racial Disparities in Perceived Quality of Scientific Research? Poster was presented at the annual meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association Conference. Chicago, IL. (Conference was cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic).
- **Abdul Karim, M. F.**, Jettinghoff, W., & Kroeper, K., (April 2017). Overlooking Police Brutality: How Race and Ambiguity Affect Culpability Judgments. Presented at the 89th Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association (MPA). Chicago, IL.

Professional Experiences

- Graduate Student Intern (Internal Consultant), Summer 2019 and 2020
- Research Assistant with IUPUI, Fall 2017 – present

- Teaching Assistant and Instructor of Record with IUPUI, Fall 2017 – present
- Undergraduate Research Assistant with IU Bloomington, 2014 – 2017